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Vol. XXII, No. 1

February 1952

## The Social Framework of Education

Reviews the literature for the three-year period since the issuance of  
Volume XIX, No. 1, February 1949

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## FOREWORD

IN THE space and time dimensions of their subject matters, our six chapters proceed from large to small. Chapter I treats the most abstract and pervasive ideas bearing on education at all times in human history over all the world. Chapter II deals with the economic and social forces (or "causes") affecting education, primarily in American society. Chapter III deals with the social results of education, again with emphasis on the American scene. Chapter IV focuses still more sharply on relationships between schools and the communities (states, cities, towns) in which they function. Chapter V deals with the phenomena of face-to-face relationships as they bear on the school as a social organization. Finally, Chapter VI deals with a still smaller social unit—the family from which pupils go to school.

This hierarchical arrangement of our chapters does not correlate, of course, with the importance of these focuses of attention. Indeed, one would be hard put to it to rank these topics in terms of how much variance they account for in education. The epistemological bases on which a school operates, consciously or otherwise; population trends in the nation; the effects of schools on the nation's literacy; the relationships between a school and the citizens of the community; the relationships between principal and teachers; and the relationships between parents—many such complexes of factors interact profoundly to determine what happens when the learner goes to school. Rather than a foundation on which education rests, they constitute the framework in which education is molded. This cycle of the REVIEW represents our realization that educational behavior occurs in a social field.

Paradoxically, the literature on the social framework of education does not, and perhaps should not be expected to, reflect major social crises—war and inflation—any more rapidly than other literatures. For we are concerned here largely with the fairly stable concepts, long-term trends, and underlying problems rather than with their symptoms. This may account for the absence from this issue of many obvious signs of the impact of the military struggle in Korea, the "cold" war, or inflation.

The committee acknowledges major indebtedness to the authors of these chapters. After the committee had laid the general design of this issue, the authors did the real work.

N. L. GAGE, *Chairman*  
*Committee on Social Framework of Education*



## CHAPTER I

### Historical and Philosophical Foundations of Education

R. FREEMAN BUTTS

THE inclusion of this chapter on historical and philosophical foundations of education in a volume devoted to the social framework of education marks a modification in the organization of the REVIEW OF EDUCATIONAL RESEARCH. The history of education has received no systematic attention since the issues of October 1936 and October 1939, and the philosophy of education has been treated since 1942 as incidental to the problems of learning, teaching, and curriculum (June 1942, June 1945, June 1948, and June 1951). The present re-examination of the history and philosophy of education as disciplines worthy of special attention in the foundational approach to education is thus noteworthy. It is clear, from the renewed interest in both fields and from the rich and abundant writing that has been done in the last 10 years, that attention to these topics is justified.

In view of the fact that history and philosophy have not been covered in recent issues of the REVIEW, this chapter will attempt to touch the high spots of research and publication since the close of World War II. This means that periodical articles must be omitted, and only the most distinctive, substantial, or recently published books may be mentioned. For further research in the history of education the reader is referred to the detailed bibliographies in Brickman (9, 10), Brubacher (12), and Butts (16) and for philosophy of education in Brameld (8), Brickman (9), and Brubacher (13). Important as they are, no attention can be given to the many important books of research and interpretation in general history and philosophy which provide the fundamental disciplines upon which the history of education and philosophy of education must rest and from which they gain their nourishment and method.

#### **Textbooks in the History and Philosophy of Education**

Following the close of World War II several textbooks in the general history of education appeared in rapid succession. Among these, three were revisions of earlier works: Boyd (7) viewed European education from the vantage point of English academic scholarship; McCormick and Cassidy (60) from a Catholic point of view; and Meyer (66) concentrated on education in the twentieth century around the world. Among the new textbooks Good (37) and Mulhern (69) continued the trend of recent years toward relating education to its social and institutional context. Brubacher (12) made the most distinctive and radical departure from standard textbooks by organizing his materials around persistent problems in educational thought and practice. Butts (16) combined the cultural-chronological emphasis with the problem approach, giving atten-

tion to intellectual and philosophical trends as well as the social and institutional. Edwards and Richey (30) limited themselves to the history of education in the United States and concentrated on the sociological relations of education.

Important revisions of earlier textbooks in the philosophy of education were made by Lodge (58) who represented an idealistic position and by Brubacher (13) who took a descriptive and comparative approach. The first of the new textbooks to appear after World War II were those by Henderson and Wynne. Henderson (39) dealt with many of the basic problems of philosophy and of education in a way to appeal to undergraduate students and with an attempt to find agreements among different philosophies despite her evident preference for Kantian idealism and realism. Wynne (90) analyzed the theories of experience and of school practice involved in "educational authoritarianism" and "educational laissez-faire" and criticized them from the standpoint of his own preference for "educational experimentalism."

Designed to be much more than textbooks in the philosophy of education were those by Butler, Childs, Kilpatrick, and Brameld. Butler (15) dealt critically with naturalism, idealism, realism, and pragmatism as they bear on the philosophy of education and religion. He took his stand with idealism after assessing the strengths and weaknesses of each. Childs (19) defined and defended the experimentalist view of education in relation to values, experience, intellectual method, the democratic community, and a free society, and criticized the humanistic, supernaturalistic, and authoritarian positions as inadequate or dangerous to a genuine education. Kilpatrick (50) summed up his long lifework as an experimentalist in the philosophy of education by considering "critically and constructively the principal problems of general educational theory now confronting modern civilization," by defining the modern philosophy of life, and by applying it to the philosophy of the educative process. Brameld (8) analyzed four patterns of educational philosophy with their groundings in theories of reality, knowledge, and values; he rejected "progressivism," "essentialism," and "perennialism," in favor of his own utopian "reconstructionism" with strong emphasis upon education as an agency of radical social reform.

Collections of source readings and documents have come to be important teaching and research tools in the history and philosophy of education as elsewhere. Ulich (84) took the whole world and 3000 years of wisdom literature as his field. Knight (51) concentrated on historical documents in the South of the United States from colonial times to 1865, and Knight and Hall (52) ranged over the entire period of American history.

### **History of Foreign Education**

Historical studies of society and education in the British Commonwealth have been abundant since World War II. Among these MacNaughton (62)

surveyed education in New Brunswick; Barnard (3), Curtis (26), and Jarman (43) treated education in England as related to Europe. Lilge (57) gave an interpretation of the historic role of German universities and their decline under Nazi rule. Studies of Russian education were made by Counts and Lodge (23) who concentrated on the ideological, educational, and political aspects of the whole apparatus of Soviet mind control and by Johnson (45) who emphasized education and teacher education under the Tsarist regimes to 1917. Studies of education in Western Europe were made by Kibre (48) who took the nations in the medieval universities as her theme and by MacMahon (61) who concentrated on education in fifteenth-century England. Ancient education in India was the focus of attention by Mookerji (68); the ideal of ancient education and especially physical development in Greece and Rome was studied by Woody (89). In another study Woody (88) described the changing theories of liberal education in ancient China, Greece, Rome, and during the Middle Ages, and the Renaissance.

### History of Education in the United States

Despite the relative dearth of textbooks in the history of American education the range and vitality of research in this field steadily expanded after the close of World War II. Todd (81) studied the effect of World War I on the relations of the federal government to education, and Kandel (47) made a more extensive study of the whole impact of World War II upon education. Significant re-examinations of fundamental problems in different periods of American education were undertaken. Kiefer (49) gave a revealing insight into the basic attitudes and outlooks that were inculcated in children thru their books during the colonial and early national periods. Cremin (24) re-examined the historic concept of the American common school as it developed during the first half of the nineteenth century. Lee (54) did the same for the persistent problem of federal aid to education as it arose in the latter half of the nineteenth century.

Nonschool agencies of education received considerable attention. Case and Case (18) studied the Chautauqua movement as a phase of adult education. The story of the public-library movement was written by Shera (75) for New England up to 1855 and by Ditzion (28) for the Northeast from 1850 to 1900.

Histories of education in the various states were represented by McVey's (63) study of Kentucky, Orr's (72) study of Georgia, and Wilson's (87) study of Negro education in Mississippi. The history of higher education continued to be an even more fruitful subject of research with the appearance of several significant studies. Curti and Carstenson (25) wrote on the University of Wisconsin, Ellis (31) on Catholic University of America, French (35) on Johns Hopkins, Wertenbaker (85) on Princeton, and Le Duc (53) on Amherst.



### **Personalities in the History and Philosophy of Education**

Studies of great personalities and the influence of their ideas and theories upon education were abundant in the postwar period. Some of the personalities were important because of their stature as philosophers and molders of educational ideas; others because of their influence upon educational practice; still others for both reasons. Ulich's (83) history of educational thought was essentially a study of the educational ideas of prominent personalities in Europe and a few in America. European personalities and their influence on education were represented in studies of Plato by Lodge (59), Alcuin by Duckett (29), Dury, Hartlib, and Comenius by Turnbull (82), De La Salle by Battersby (5), Milton by Clark (20), Matthew Arnold by Connell (22), and key English figures by Leese (55).

American personalities were represented by such studies as those concerning great teachers by Peterson (73), Benjamin Silliman by Fulton and Thomson (36), Francis Lieber by Freidel (34), Henry Barnard by Thursfield (80), William T. Harris by Leidecker (56), Booker T. Washington by Mathews (65), and John Dewey by Hook and 19 others (42).

### **The Religious Problem in the History and Philosophy of Education**

Among the problems that were especially acute following World War II and that attracted attention of both historians and philosophers to a marked degree was the whole question of the relation of religion to education in the United States. Some historical studies focused on the development of church-related institutions, such as Brinton's (11) survey of Quaker education, Brother Angelus Gabriel's (2) study of the Christian Brothers in the United States, and Barth's (4) survey of the Franciscans in Spanish North America.

The bitter struggles over religion in the public schools and public aid for parochial schools led to several re-examinations of the historical meaning of the separation of church and state. O'Neill (71) represented a Roman Catholic version of history justifying cooperation between church and state; Butts (17) found new meanings in the historical materials that supported more complete separation; and Stokes' (77) three volumes dug deeply into all aspects of the question in addition to the educational problems.

Policy statements that inquired into the philosophic orientation that should lie behind attitudes toward the teaching of religion in the public schools represented varying outlooks. Butler (15) organized his philosophic analysis of four philosophies of education around their respective approaches to religion and religious education. The Committee on Religion and Education of the American Council on Education (1), Henry (40), Williams (86), and Harner (38) argued for more attention in the public schools to teaching about religion as a phase of our culture.

Thayer (78, 79), Moehlman (67), and Dawson (27) argued that religion should not be a subject of study in the public schools. The Educational Policies Commission (70) tried to find a *modus vivendi* by which public schools could permeate their programs with attention to moral and spiritual values without becoming embroiled in sectarian religious controversies.

### **New Interpretations of Modern Philosophies of Education**

Many important statements continued to appear in significant works growing out of a fundamental pragmatic-experimentalist-naturalist orientation. In addition to the books already mentioned by Childs, Kilpatrick, and Brameld, one of the most significant was that by Raup, Axtelle, Benne, and Smith (74). Concerned with the moral bases of society and education these authors argued for a new approach to a method of intelligence that would lead to a discipline of practical judgment and would be worthy of a place in education equal if not superior to the scientific method of thinking upon which judgments of fact are based. Johnson (44) and Mason (64) tackled the ethical and moral values consonant with a naturalistic, scientific, and secular philosophy of schools and society. Hook (41) and Kallen (46) added their well-known voices to the chorus being lifted to reassert the values of a modern philosophy of education based upon science, democracy, and human personality as fundamental values. A symposium in which representatives of the opposing philosophies of education confronted each other was edited by Bryson, Finkelstein, and MacIver (14).

### **Reaffirmations of Traditional Philosophies of Education**

For their part, the opponents of a modern philosophy of education were also active in stating their case. Altho nothing new has been written in book form since World War II by such outstanding and outspoken critics as Hutchins, Adler, and Van Doren, their places and points of view have been reflected by Bell (6) and Smith (76). Less caustic and more sober was the analysis of an idealistic philosophy appropriate to Protestantism made by Clark (21). Criticisms of the modern philosophies of education and of school practice came from Catholic supernaturalists, but few of these rivaled in scope those cited in the foregoing section. Foudy (33) analyzed four versions of American humanism but found the Catholic humanism of Maritain to be most satisfying. Fitzpatrick (32) argued for a liberal education and an intellectual discipline appropriate to the essentially spiritual nature of the human being.

Despite the growing attacks upon the ideas and practices of modern education from many quarters, the weight of fundamental analyses in the history and philosophy of education continued to come from those who held to various versions of a modern point of view.



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## CHAPTER II

### The Larger Social Context of Education

HERMAN G. RICHEY and NICHOLAS PASTORE

#### General Studies of Contemporary Society

AMONG the most significant recent studies are several that attempt an interpretation of the crisis of contemporary society in terms of the past and present influence of certain economic, political, social, and moral ideas and forces. In one such study, Röpke (60) described our social maladies, explained their causes, and argued that the "social crisis" which had developed will eventuate in the destruction of Western civilization if suggested measures do not arrest the present trend. Less positive as to the solution of recognized problems, a series of discussions of significant phases of modern life by Chase and others (12) added up to the proposition that, given understanding, man possesses sufficient creative ability to deal with the grim challenges he faces.

Comprehensive quantitative studies of contemporary society such as *Recent Social Trends in the United States* and similar investigations published during the 1930's were not found for the period under review. The most comprehensive treatments of problems and trends were found in advanced texts (24, 70) that incorporated the findings of recent research. The most comprehensive treatments of selected larger aspects and problems of contemporary society were found in volumes of the *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*. The *UNESCO Official Bulletin* and the State Department's monthly publication, *Economic and Social Problems in the United Nations*, provided materials and references relating to world problems.

For references to studies of specific aspects and problems of contemporary society, one should consult, in addition to the well-known *Readers' Guide to Periodical Literature and Education Index*, the *International Index to Periodicals*, *Population Index*, *Public Affairs Information Service*, the *Cumulative Book Index, 1946-1950* of the *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, and the indexes of such journals as the *American Journal of Sociology*, *American Sociological Review*, and *Social Forces*.

#### Problems Arising from Population Change

Aside from inflation and war, the influences most seriously threatening our educational enterprise stem from the upsurge of population which began more than a decade ago and from changes in age composition and geographical distribution which accompanied the marked expansion of the population (59).

*Birth Rates.* Edwards (21, 22) and others generally explained the high birth rates of the 1940's as a result of "using up the backlog" of post-



poned babies, borrowing from the future, and an age distribution favorable to a high birth rate. On the basis of an analysis of research studies in the field, J. Davis (18) rejected the adequacy of these explanations and suggested that the increase in births might be explained in terms of a sort of natural selection and an altered social view with respect to desired family size.

Whether the upsurge represented a permanent reversal of a long-time trend or merely a fluctuation from it, U. S. Bureau of the Census publications periodically reported unexpectedly large additions to the child population. Projections of future school-age population prepared by the Bureau (72) indicated something of the magnitude of the task involved in providing added educational accommodations. The U. S. Office of Education (73) issued a report prepared by a committee of representatives of 29 organizations which revealed the need for 50 percent more schoolrooms within 10 years. State agencies (59) and professional organizations (51) on the basis of careful study, urged careful consideration of future needs. Howard (34) on the basis of a painstaking analysis concluded that Alabama institutions would need to prepare annually, at least thru 1955, three times as many white teachers and twice as many Negro teachers as they prepared in 1948.

*Internal Migration.* Investigators agreed that next to the increase in the number of births, the high rate and complex patterns of internal migration created significant educational problems. Edwards (21, 22) traced the extent and pattern of internal migration between 1940 and 1947 and noted the major educational implications. Valien (74) studied the large migration of Negro youth during the 1940's and noted some consequences of the movement. Knight (40) presented facts concerning such matters as age and educational level of young migrants, reason for migrating, and destination; and listed nine implications drawn from the facts.

*Reproduction Differentials.* Edwards (21, 22) presented analyses of regional, rural-urban, and class differentials in reproduction and concluded that these differentials created disproportionate educational loads, resulted in greater inequality of opportunity, and contributed to the spread of an inferior cultural pattern. Wattenberg (77) reported figures on fertility in different sections and also the greater fertility of poorly educated as compared with better educated women. Richey (58) investigated changes in the educational status of important population groups between World Wars I and II and reported differences which indirectly supported Edwards' conclusions.

*Aging of the Population.* The aging of the population has serious implications for education. Kiser (39) traced trends thru 1940 and projected estimates to 1975. Kingsley, Davis, and Combs (19) indicated the changes that had taken place in the status of older persons and the social and economic consequences of the increasing proportion of aged. Edwards (21, 22) presented trends and noted an implied shift of the locus of

political and economic power. Joseph Davis (18) agreed with other investigators that the absolute number of aged would increase rapidly but argued from an analysis of recent data that the rapidity of the aging of the population had been exaggerated.

### **Problems Connected with Scientific and Technological Developments**

Scientific and technological developments have changed the world in which we live and have had a tremendous impact upon education. Slichter (68) investigated and discussed the scientific and technological changes that have increased output per man-hour, produced new products, created industries and occupations and in other recognizable ways have increased the possibilities and responsibilities of education. Bossard (6) reviewed the educational consequences of the development of rapid transit and improved communication. Russell (61) discussed the effects of technology on social organization. Dickin (20) studied the effect of technological development on agriculture and family life in the South. Juenger (36) analyzed the influence of machine technology on culture and concluded that it was at the root of the modern world's difficulties.

*Problems Connected with Atomic Energy.* Schurr and Marschak (65) dealt at length with economic and social aspects of atomic power such as its relation to the national income, location of industries, and geographic patterns of population. Recognition of the implications for the total society of the development and control of atomic energy prompted much discussion concerning the function of education in its larger social context. Lilienthal (43), Hutchins (35), and others noted that science had placed a heavy burden and obligation upon the school. Much energy was directed toward meeting the challenge. In this connection, Pike (56) listed and reviewed special teacher-training programs; Evans and others (50) prepared teaching materials; Hawley (29) investigated related curriculum change in 500 institutions; and McClure (45) studied trends in relation to the nature and adequacy of instruction.

*Problems Connected with Television.* The stake of society in television is large. Writers agreed that its possibilities for society and education are great. For example, Corbett (17) indicated the role that it should play in education and the larger society; and McGrath (46) and others presented the case for control by educators of a part of the enterprise.

### **Economic Factors Influencing Education**

Educators are generally aware that economic factors influence the educational enterprise at almost every turn and that we need an understanding of the principles underlying such problems as school finance, teacher supply and demand, and the control of economic activity.

Harris (26), a leading economist, presented an informing analysis of educational finance and its relation to the nation's economic system, dealing with the impact of inflation on expenditures for education, the effect



of inflexibility of teachers' salaries on the quality and quantity of teacher personnel, the rigidity of local revenues as a hindrance to the correction of critical maladjustments, and similar problems.

Inasmuch as inflation has adverse effects upon resources allocated to education, an economic policy designed to combat inflation is crucial to education. In this connection, Mints (48) analyzed the necessary and sufficient conditions for maintaining price-level stability and stressed the importance of this objective for the maintenance of a competitive society. Hart and Brown (27) analyzed the same policy problem with special preference to the defense emergency.

Several investigators reported studies of economic changes that have recognizable significance for education. Schultz (64) investigated the increasing disparities in wealth and income of various regions, and showed that altho national income rises, it does so at vastly different rates in different areas and thus widens the absolute and proportional differences between rich and poor areas. Clark (13) examined the alteration in the relative importance of agricultural products and raw materials, manufactured commodities, and services under the impact of rising levels of income; and studied changes in the type and character of employments resulting from changes in types of goods produced.

Numerous articles published in educational journals provided evidence concerning new needs and serious problems arising in local situations from the operation of the more obvious economic changes.

### **Social Class, Class Mobility, and Education**

The past several years marked an increasing awareness on the part of social scientists of "social class" phenomena—in the sense of re-defining and clarifying the basic terms and also of extending empirical observations (11, 23, 31, 32, 33, 55, 75, 76). On the theoretical side Warner, Meeker, and Eells (75) published a monograph in which they defined and justified their two main indexes in measuring social class. The two indexes, Evaluated Participation (E. P.) and Index of Status Characteristics (I. S. C.) are intended to measure respectively the subjective and objective aspects of social class placement. Altho the E. P. was thought to be a more valid index of the "social class" participation of the individual it was more difficult to obtain than the I. S. C. It was found, however, that there was a substantial correlation between the two indexes—the inter-correlations of the various components of I. S. C. and E. P. were each over 0.78 (75: 168). Altho established on the data obtained from a small community, the two indexes were thought to be generally applicable to other and larger communities. Hill and McCall (31) applied the technic of Warner and his co-workers to a study of social stratification in "Georgia Town," a southern community with a population of less than 8000. The authors had some difficulty in applying the I. S. C. to all the individuals of this town, and they recommended substituting educational status for the income component of the index

in studies of Southeastern communities. The Committee on Human Development of the University of Chicago (23) in their work, *Intelligence and Cultural Differences*, introduced the same change, but for a different reason, in measuring the social class of individuals in Rockford, Illinois.

In addition to the efforts to measure empirically social class, a number of articles critical of such current procedures appeared (25, 41, 44, 54). Pfautz and Duncan (54) in a critical evaluation of the work of Warner and his associates asserted, among other things, that the conclusions derived from studies of small communities did not necessarily apply to urban and more heterogeneous communities. The authors also questioned the details of Warner's methodology pertaining to the reliability and validity of the E. P. and I. S. C. indexes, sampling procedure, and the underlying conceptualization of class. It was evident that Pfautz and Duncan considered the "power" aspects of class phenomena to constitute important problems for investigation; such phases were ignored in the Warner Studies. Kornhauser (41) emphasized the necessity for increased understanding of the basic variables which are employed either in measuring or in determining class and its correlates; he urged caution in interpreting differences of opinions on economic and political questions in terms of their social class correlates.

*Class and IQ.* The efforts of the Committee on Human Development (23) to produce an intelligence test which is not biased in favor of children of the "upper" socio-economic groups were given significant expression in a recently published volume. This work depended largely on the field study of Eells in Rockford, Illinois. This progress report, the first of a contemplated series, dealt mainly with an extensive series of comparisons "of responses to standard intelligence-test items by white children from different socio-economic levels" (23: v). The basic assumption of Eells was that such differences as obtained between "high-status" and "low-status" children were best explained in terms of environmental opportunity or "cultural learning." It is doubtful, however, as Eells and the other members of the Committee themselves realized, that cross-status item-analysis can provide conclusive validation of such an assumption. The direction should be along experimental lines despite the difficulties which this would involve. Perhaps a series of differentiated learning tasks can be devised with the object of determining whether there exist cross-status differences in the mastery of such tasks.

Partial substantiation of the point of view advanced by the Committee on Human Development can be noted in the recent comparative results of the 1932 and 1947 surveys of the intelligence of Scottish children (66); both surveys were conducted by the Scottish Council for Research in Education. Attempts were made in these 1932 and 1947 surveys to test all 11-year-old children in a specified period of time; considering the difficulties involved in such a problem the sampling results were quite good. The object of the 1947 survey was to determine whether there had been any drop in "national intelligence," a drop which had been freely

predicted in many quarters. In comparing the mean scores obtained by these two half-generation groups with the same group intelligence test, it was found that there had been "quite a substantial increase from about 34.5 to about 36.7 points on a test with a maximum of 76 points" (66: viii). This increase occurred despite the persisting negative correlation between family size and average intelligence test score of offspring. Whether one interprets the rise in the mean score to indicate a real increase in intelligence or an increase in knowledge or an increase in "test sophistication" of pupils, the position taken by the Committee on Human Development in any case is strengthened. One should note also, in this connection, the follow-up study of 100 adopted children carried on by Skodak and Skeels (67). One result of this study indicated that children who had been placed in homes of higher occupational status had a higher average IQ than those who had been placed in "lower occupation" homes.

*Class and Other Psychological Characteristics.* Other characteristics which were studied in relation to class or socio-economic factors included mental illness (15), prejudice (3, 5), adolescent behavior (32), perception (2, 9), and attitudes (53). Clark studied the records of over 12,000 first admissions from Chicago to public and private mental hospitals and showed that the "age-adjusted commitment rates by occupational groups are negatively correlated with the factors of occupational income and prestige" (15: 433). The studies of Adorno and others (3), and of Bettelheim and Janowitz (5) have not led to any consistent and decisive demonstration of a relationship between socio-economic and political attitudes and prejudice. Hollingshead (32) analyzed adolescent behavior as a function of parental class position. Repetitions (2, 9) of the original Bruner and Goodman (7) experiment, which had led to apparently significant class differences in perception, did not yield similar consistent differences in the perception of coin-size. Pastore (53) analyzed the relationship of socio-political attitudes of 24 scientists associated with the nature-nurture controversy in terms of the positions held by these scientists on the controversy. His analysis indicated that those scientists who were classified as "conservative" in their socio-political orientation tended to emphasize "nature," whereas those scientists who were classified as "liberal" or "radical" tended to emphasize "nurture." There were two major contradictions, however, to this conclusion. Several interpretations of causal relationships were considered.

*Class and Educational Characteristics.* Several studies of interest appeared in this area. Hollingshead (32) studied, among other things, various phases of the school system, and of pupil behavior in terms of the position of the adolescent's family in the social hierarchy. Some of the specific aspects which were related to class factors were found to be: the affiliations of board of education members, school withdrawals, pupil motivation, grading practices, extracurriculum activities, and teacher-outlook and teacher-treatment of pupils. An interesting finding was the

fact that altho there was a compulsory school law requiring attendance until the sixteenth year, the great majority of pupils who dropped out did so *before* the sixteenth year (32: 331). Hollingshead went one step beyond correlation analysis when he attempted to determine the "dynamic factors" at the basis of school withdrawal. Such dynamic factors, from the standpoint of the adolescent's own view of the situation, included economic need, peer isolation and discrimination, and mistreatment by teachers (32: 340). In a study of over 2500 women students at Indiana University, Mueller and Mueller (49) found that the representation of students was weighted in the direction of the professional classes. For example, altho the professional classes comprised 4.7 percent of the state's population they contributed 17.7 percent of the student body. Such inequalities in educational opportunity point up the significant question of the utilization of existing talent.

*Class and Sociological Characteristics.* Adams (1) in his study on "vertical mobility," analyzed the background of 261 independent attorneys in terms of regional differences and parental occupations. Over 60 percent of these attorneys had fathers who were in the proprietary, managerial, and professional groups. Hollingshead (33) studied five cultural factors—religion, race, ethnic origin, age, and class—in relation to selection of marriage mates in New Haven. He concluded that marriages at all levels "united class equals." Centers (10), in his investigation of the voting behavior of American women, concluded that "upper-class women voters" tended to cast their votes for the Republican candidate (1944 presidential election) whereas the majority of "working- and lower-class women voters" tended to vote against him. Centers interpreted this conclusion as representing the influence of "class position" on voting behavior.

### **Subcultures in Education**

The status of the Negro received continued attention; the following well-known disparities, to mention a few, which exist between Negro and white were further documented: educational status (57), income status (78), health status (71, 79), and availability of professional personnel for the Negro community (71). Several studies evaluated the impact of segregation on Negro personality and outlook (14, 38). It would be of interest to know whether the amelioration of the position of the Negro keeps apace with the general advance in the population as a whole.

The effects of segregation and discrimination patterns on other minority groups received treatment in various studies (8, 28, 62).

### **Impact of Military Mobilization on American Society and Education**

Education has been seriously affected not only by the strains on the economy and shifts in population stemming from mobilization and other defense activities but also by adjustments forced upon the schools and by obligations which the national interest has imposed upon them.

Conant (16) devoted one chapter of his thought-provoking book to the problems of the armed truce. Norton (52) treated briefly the role of education in a period of mobilization. Kandel (37) reported at length on the impact of war upon education, discussing many problems of continuing interest such as the exodus of students, accelerated programs, curriculum emphases, and selective service. Merrill (47) examined the influence of war conditions on family organization, adolescence, crime, mental illness, and delinquency. Sanford, Hand, and Spalding (63) edited a report representing the cooperation of 2500 educators and laymen which estimated the security situation, noted its major educational implications, and recommended a national security program for the schools.

Numerous studies and reports indicated the effects and possible effects of mobilization upon college and university enrolment. From an analysis (30) of 1374 returns of questionnaires sent to 1888 colleges and universities, it was found in May 1951 that one-third of the institutions planned to reduce their faculties by 9 percent. One entire issue of the official publication of the Association of American Colleges (69) dealt with mobilization in relation to higher education.

Allen (4) chided educators for unreasonable fear that the military, because of restrictions and emphasis placed on education by the emergency, will come to control education. Lee (42) on the basis of careful research, concluded that in spite of praiseworthy restraint on the part of Congress, pressures were exerted on education by government agencies during World War II and that the war gave impetus to federal educational expansion.

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## CHAPTER III

### Social Effects and Correlates of Education

CARSON MCGUIRE

**T**WELVE years ago Clark (7) surveyed the literature on the social effectiveness of education. It has been 10 years since the appearance of the general report of the American Youth Commission, *Youth and the Future* (1), which examined education of youth in relation to occupational adjustment, leisure activities, marriage and the home, and health and fitness. Eight years ago Warner, Havighurst, and Loeb introduced an alternate way of estimating the social effects and correlates of education in *Who Shall Be Educated?* (40). The present chapter, focusing upon the literature of the past four years, follows the outline of the Clark report and the concerns of the American Youth Commission. In addition it takes account of variability of influences such as family background and mobility drive.

#### Education and Individual Income

Writers have continued to employ census data to show that there is a high correlation between amount of education and income in later life. For example, in a graphic presentation of the dollar value of education, Landis (24) pointed out significant differences in estimated lifetime and average yearly earnings of wage and salary workers according to grade, high-school, and college levels of education. Brunner (4) analyzed 1940 census data to confirm differences in college experience among occupational groups and to demonstrate age variations.

Ogburn (34) reported a correlation of  $+0.29$  between education and earnings. The proportion of divorced for the native white population was most frequent for the high-school graduates, whereas the percentage of separated mates was highest for those who had only a Grade IV education or less. When these data were combined with those for widowed and widowers, however, family unity increased with education and income levels. Brunner (3) accounted for the low but significant correlation between education and income by the subtle factor of family values. From his data, Brunner inferred that all groupings from the lower-middle on up the socio-economic scale entered their children in school as early as possible and that these children made normal progress.

#### Youth Leaving School

A movement known as "Life Adjustment Education" has focused attention upon identifying youth who leave school and redirecting the secondary-school curriculum to retain them. This kind of study was undertaken by Gragg (14) who surveyed two school systems. He found that such factors as school retardation, verbal intelligence, activity par-

ticipation, and broken homes distinguish drop-outs from high-school graduates.

School-leaving has been demonstrated to be a function of family social class background and degree of acceptance in an age-mate society. A part of Hollingshead's (21) inquiry into the impact of social classes upon adolescents was devoted to the withdrawal process. Of the 345 young people in Elmtown out of school in 1942, 74 percent had left before they were 16 years of age—the majority without employment certificates despite the school law. Of the drop-outs, 95 percent were from Class IV (upper-lower) and Class V (lower-lower).

### **Vocational Guidance and Placement Services**

The general objective of vocational guidance has been to help young people achieve success in a world of work. Emphasis has been placed upon a psychology of individual differences—that is, the young person seeking help, his health, social and educational circumstances, personality, abilities, and interests (32). Books and journals, such as *Occupations*, have emphasized current practices with little research on the effects and correlates of the guidance process. There have been some studies of the latter kind, however, such as Lanier's (25) report of a guidance-faculty inquiry into student withdrawals and Lauck's (26) search for evidence that guidance in school prevents delinquency in adults.

Follow-up studies have contradicted the proposition that the school should train for specific jobs rather than job families. For instance, Leonard (27) inquired into the occupational experiences of 123 graduates of a Pittsburgh trade school in 1947. Less than one-third were working in the trades for which they were specifically trained and, including these, less than half were in related trade fields. Union membership and trade experience requirements as well as employment practices, including fear of draft eligibility, prevented youth from entering their chosen field.

Placement services frequently have been described but few actually have been evaluated systematically. An article by Marsden (30) assessed a technical department's school-community placement service. Initially each employer and each organized labor group had to be "sold" on the idea that recommendations could be trusted. It took an average of three and one-half letters of recommendation for the 2200 men placed in four years.

### **Occupational Adjustment**

Attention has been turned to the dynamics of occupational choice and the factors governing occupational adjustment. Ginsberg (13) and his associates at Columbia University sampled students at two-year intervals from age 11 to 23, the sixth grade to the graduate years, to cover important decision ages. Analysis of interview data revealed "self," "reality factors" including experience according to family status, and "key persons" who exert an influence, as elements in typical patterns of early, delayed, residual, and defective choices. Not only were individual

capacities and interests of importance but also identifications, the ability to postpone satisfaction, and learning to resolve conflict by compromise—attributes which are said to be characteristic of a middle-class life style.

Status differences in expectations have been demonstrated in surveys such as one by Dittmer and Payne (10). They found that male high-school students and college seniors from lower socio-economic levels more frequently mentioned "good wages" as an important factor in choosing a job than those of higher family status. Centers (6) interviewed a sample of 1100 white adult males in 1945. He reported a preference among persons in higher occupational groups for leadership, self-expression, and interesting experiences. In the lower groups, the emphasis was upon security, autonomy, and independence.

A monograph by Friend and Haggard (12) appraised worker adjustment in a lower class population by balancing satisfactions sought by the individual with those provided by the job. Rating schedules for 67 men and 13 women covered early life history, educational experience, current family life, early job history, response to counseling, personality patterns, general and specific work reactions. Workers appeared to compromise with life by seeking satisfaction in work denied them in earlier years.

One investigation by an educator was a follow-up by McIntosh (29) of 1000 nonacademic boys from the Jarvis School of Toronto, Canada, in 1947. Intelligence, ranging from Binet IQ 46 to 107, did not seem to be a barrier to employment; of 52 men with IQ's less than 60, three-quarters were self-supporting. Two factors, emotional stability and personal drive, seemed to make the men as steady on the job as the average industrial worker.

Occupational career pattern was investigated by Form and Miller (11) for major occupational groups. They identified initial, trial, and stable work periods. A grid pattern technic was devised to reveal changes in tenure of work life and in vertical occupational mobility. In a study of 226 careers in a managerial hierarchy, Dalton (8) reported that there was no formal pattern of selection and promotion in terms of age at entry, rate of advancement, occupational experience, or type of educational training. Informal processes of selection appeared to function. Religion, ethnic membership, political belief, participation in accepted organizations, as well as years of education (all symbols of class-typed value orientations) seemed to be factors in the situation. At least 62 percent of the managers were not in a position related to their formal training.

Dalton inferred that a higher level of education attained contributes to a greater desire for status and a higher style of life. He concluded that there may be an increasing gap between actual career practices and the present insistence that status is to be earned by adherence to formal procedures such as preparing for executive positions thru vocational training. High valuation of personal success, limited numbers of higher positions, evasion of fixed lines, the intrusion of personal sentiments, and conflict of interests have combined to allow nonfunctional criteria to

operate in occupational selection, advancement, and adjustment. Other factors to be explored among various occupational groupings have been suggested in Henry's (20) report upon the psychodynamics of the social role of the business executive where mobility drive and related psychological elements were considered.

### Education and Social Mobility

Preparation by education, in its general rather than specific sense, has become the principal route for those who are socially mobile, that is, moving upward in socio-economic status, social class participation and reputation, and in value orientations. On the basis of research carried on under his direction, Warner (39) generalized upon the nature of opportunity in America and the consequences of blocked mobility. Havighurst (19) supplied a summary of the relation of education to vertical mobility (from one status level to another) as well as to horizontal mobility (from job to job, and from place to place) in the United States.

McGuire (28), in a study of two Jonesville age-groups, found 70 of 300 young people upward mobile in terms of initial adult status compared with family social position and only 14 moving downward. From census data he estimated that, in America, possibly one in every four or five youth now move up one or more status levels, the proportion being about one in three among lower-class youth and approximately one in eight or ten for middle-class young people. Four factors were identified: namely, (a) a differential birth rate, with the lower class producing more children; (b) the downward mobility of some persons in each generation; (c) a long term shift in social structure, with places for more middle-class people—and a corresponding demand for more education; and (d) the push of the American ideology toward a "higher" way of life. One-step upward movement, however, appears to be replacing long-jump vertical mobility.

The report of The President's Commission on Higher Education (38) has been criticized because it fails to take account of elements associated with mobility orientation. Havighurst (17) pointed out that social groups differ in motivation for higher education and that the Commission's goals can be approached only by a change in the cultural motivations of American lower-middle and working-class people. The social and occupational matrix as well as the role of educational striving and achieving have been neglected elements in other studies, for example, in Seymour Harris' (16) economic analysis of *The Market for College Graduates*.

### Juvenile Delinquency

Juvenile delinquency, a term which encompasses both nonconforming and downward mobile behavior, has been the subject of a recent educational yearbook (33). Dale Harris (15), to assist researchers in the field, evaluated the literature on the socialization of the delinquent. He concluded that, contrary to popular thinking, the delinquent is not neces-



sarily "socially maladjusted"; frequently the youth is quite well socialized, but in terms of standards and group experiences he is too deviant to be acceptable to the larger social body. In general, the delinquent has failed to participate effectively in school for some years prior to his delinquency; instead, he seeks status and ego development in peer groups where adult influences are minimized.

Wattenberg (42), from records of 2000 juvenile offenders in Detroit, calculated that only children are half as likely as non-only children to become offenders. In another study (41), he found that delinquency rates declined during the first month of summer and rose during the latter part. Also from a Detroit investigation, Blue (2) derived a multiple correlation of  $+0.74$  between delinquency, color caste, and economic status.

An experiment in the detection of delinquency-prone children has been one of the outcomes of the Cambridge-Somerville Youth Study. Powers (35) reported that, for a sample of 100 boys, the majority who became delinquent were anticipated 10 years before by teachers almost as well as by the experts, 77 percent compared with 87 percent. Most of those labeled predelinquent, however, did not become offenders. The maladjusted nondelinquent resembled the delinquent boys, although their ratings were not so extreme with regard to trouble-making, show-off, aggressive, and undesirable behavior items on the "descriptive rating scale."

### Education Aimed at Specific Effects

Very little research could be found dealing with special kinds of education for specific social effects. Inadequacies were pointed out by writers such as Turner (36) who assessed the social aspects of health education. Havighurst (18) drew upon research about social class differences in making recommendations about family life education. Houston (22) described a pattern of safety education undertaken as a community project. Other than accident summaries, *Safety Education* presented only curriculum materials and articles describing practices.

### The Newer Concepts

"Fundamental education," a term unknown six years ago, has appeared increasingly in official reports and professional journals. Difficulties in getting UNESCO pilot projects under way were described by Marshall (31) with special reference to one being attempted for 30,000 people in the Gosseline Valley area near Marbial, Haiti. Concern about education for literacy and social improvement, however, has not been restricted to simpler societies. Caliver (5) prepared a report upon illiteracy and manpower mobilization for the U. S. Office of Education, Commission on Educational Rejectees. From 1950 census data, he calculated that approximately 50,000 females and 75,000 males reach registration age each year with less than five years of schooling.

"Psychological accessibility," including the factor of belonging or being accepted, appears to be an important element in evaluating the social

effects of education. Kaplan (23), in a study of 5000 adults of Springfield, Massachusetts, from 14 neighborhood areas, found a strong association between amount of education and attendance at lectures and forums, registration for adult education classes, and similar activities. Thirty percent of the population sampled were in one or more cultural and educational activities, the majority being residents of higher socioeconomic areas. Sociometric and related studies, described in the previous chapter, have thrown light upon the element of psychological accessibility in behavior.

The concept of "educability" has been re-evaluated as a consequence of recent research. Tyler (37) pointed out that present tests and devices serve to identify pupils who can get along in schools as they now exist. He listed five inadequacies to be overcome if education is to produce desirable social effects: (a) capitalization solely of verbal abilities, (b) inadequate use of motivation such as the use by teachers of middle-class incentives and ideals on lower-class children, (c) limitations in the areas of experience in which schools commonly deal, (d) failure to organize human behavior in learning, and (e) failure to take emotional learning into account. Davis (9) reported upon research designed to remove cultural bias from present test problems. He concluded that many school experiences were unreal to lower-class children and that homogeneous grouping actually sets up different social and cultural groups within schools so that different learning environments are established.

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## CHAPTER IV

### Control and Change of School Functions at the Community Level

NORTON L. BEACH

THE last six years have witnessed a major phenomenon in American society. Coons (11) stated that historians are likely to agree that the growing integration of school and community is one of the most significant educational developments of the Twentieth Century. Beggs (6) called attention to the fact that the American layman must make the decisions affecting his schools. He must make these decisions because in the culture he has built for himself he has assumed the responsibility for making such decisions. Changes in the control patterns of local government are emerging as people, coming together in the local community to solve problems, begin to see the power of ideas.

#### Local Pressures Exerted on Schools

The schools of America have always been faced with the problem of local community pressures. At times these pressures have had nationwide implications. Today American public school education seems to be under widespread attack. One recent incident receiving nationwide attention took place in Pasadena, California, where a complex situation led to the resignation of Willard E. Goslin, the superintendent of schools. The National Commission for the Defense of Democracy Through Education (40) in its investigation of the Pasadena situation concluded that the crisis was the result of a series of events, personalities, and pressures rather than a single event. Studies of the Pasadena situation are still in progress at this writing. Hulburd (22) pointed out that in addition to the local pressure groups in Pasadena, certain well-organized forces are operating on a national scale. The *Saturday Review of Literature* (50) reported on six representative communities where schools are currently on the defensive as a result of local pressures reinforced by national professional anti-school organizations. The background of the present attacks on public education were revealed by Melby (30) and Morse (34).

The pattern of the attacks on public education is quite clear. How to combat unjustified attacks and at the same time provide opportunities for sincere, well-founded criticism of educational practice is not so clear. Melby (30) pointed out that members of the American Association of School Administrators have been advised of two methods of dealing with the attacks: (a) take the public more into their confidence regarding educational objectives so that citizens themselves can help to develop programs, and (b) organize effective programs to demonstrate that financial support of the schools has rarely kept pace with the increased cost of living and with increased school enrolment. Kaplan (25) stated

that citizens want a voice in the real business of the school—what children are learning and why.

The Springfield, Missouri, survey (52) described a situation where a kind of community crisis was emerging: conflicting attitudes and serious conflicts within the community due to the pressure of a highly vocal minority. The survey provided an appraisal of this conflict by comparing policy as emerging in the profession with relevant opinions of the public and opinions of the school staff in Springfield.

### Public Attitudes Toward Education and Schools

A major premise of a constructive approach becoming widely accepted is that people need to get acquainted with each other's needs. One of the primary jobs of the educator is to know what people think about their schools. Hand (3, 19) pointed out that the school administrator needs to know three things about the status of public opinion concerning the schools: (a) the general level of satisfaction in the community, (b) the things that please or displease his patrons, and (c) the relative importance of each specific in its bearing on the general opinion about the schools. McCormick (26) brought out that in every community a need exists for intensive studies to uncover the areas of ignorance and misinformation in regard to public understanding of education.

Many educators express an interest in obtaining a true measure of public opinion for their communities. The blocks to conducting an opinion poll have seemed insurmountable so that few administrators have really known what the public is thinking on school issues. Actually the resources available to schools are unsatisfactory. There is an urgent necessity for bringing together the known research on technics of polling public opinion so that schools may move forward more confidently with changes in their program.

Hand (3, 19) developed instruments for measuring the opinions of teachers, parents, and pupils. A simple 20-question poll was used by McCormick (26) as a part of his study of polling methods. Walling (55) undertook two opinion polls to get at public opinion as to (a) what schools realistically can and should do and (b) what a good school looks like. In *Administration for Adaptability* (31) the studies of Mort and the Metropolitan School Study Council contribute much to the understanding of opinion poll development.

One of the difficulties of conducting opinion studies is to find a simple, reliable, and easy-to-administer technic. McCormick (26) in his study of polling methods tried five kinds of interviewing staff: (a) interested adults, all members of home and school or parent-teacher organizations; (b) high-school seniors, all volunteers and members of classes studying "Problems of American Democracy"; (c) high-school juniors, currently taking a course in sociology; (d) eighth-grade pupils; (e) fifth- and sixth-grade pupils. All were successful in obtaining a relatively high percentage of responses to the questionnaire. Eighth-grade pupils and PTA

members were most effective in securing responses. Earlier studies of Flaharty (15), Hedlund (20), and Rope (49) described specific technics for administering opinion polls.

Denver, Colorado (13), looked at its schools to ascertain: (a) what Denver people think of their public schools, and (b) public ideas on curriculum. The survey reported a generally favorable but not uncritical public opinion concerning the over-all performance of the Denver public schools. Supporters and critics of the schools agreed on the visible criteria by which a product of the schools is judged. Issues concerning the broad goals of curriculum did not divide critics and supporters of the schools nearly so sharply as did questions of the success of the schools in achieving these ends and the means of doing so.

Massanari (29) investigated voters' opinions with respect to a number of issues related to school district organization. Questionnaires were sent to a sample of all eligible and registered voters. He found it possible on the basis of the evidence to make a dependable prediction of the outcome of a school district election provided that: (a) opinions of all eligible, registered voters are sampled; (b) the response is obtained during the 10-day period preceding the actual election; and (c) no major factors are introduced which would cause a sudden shift of opinion.

### **Obtaining Community Participation in Educational Planning and Policy Formation**

Our introductory paragraph noted that there is a growing integration of school and community. This trend toward increased citizen interest and participation in educational concerns is stressed by both Fitzwater (14) and Pierce (46). Gallagher (16) reported a growing number of citizens committees in New Jersey working on educational problems. Muntyan (37) pointed out that in times of external stress there is a strong tendency on the part of society to recognize that public institutions are available for community service and are capable of contributing markedly to the community effort.

An increasing number of educational institutions have devoted a major emphasis in their research program to developing technics that will enable school staffs to work more effectively with the public. School study councils, such as the Metropolitan School Study Council, the New England School Development Council, the Pennsylvania School Study Council, and the Tri-State School Study Council, have produced some excellent studies. The Universities of California, Illinois, and Pittsburgh have developed research projects, often in cooperation with local school systems. The state departments of education in Connecticut, Florida, Illinois, Michigan, and New York have sponsored some statewide experiments. Technics for working with citizens groups in planning educational programs and establishing educational policy are developing rapidly. The National Citizens Commission for the Public Schools (38) has helped citizens thruout the nation to realize the importance of public schools to an expanding

democracy and has aroused in many communities the intelligence and will to improve our public schools. The Commission, after it had observed and worked closely with hundreds of citizen committees, prepared a handbook (39) to guide local communities in organizing such groups.

The Connecticut Governor's Fact-Finding Commission on Education (9), over a period of more than a year, has helped the people of Connecticut demonstrate in action the thesis that education and citizens do mix; and when they mix, better schools result. This report, organized as a result of information received from 80 towns and cities, is an excellent guide to school study.

The Michigan State Department of Public Instruction (33) has worked cooperatively with a group of nine communities, for a period of five years, in creating a community-school service program. The purposes of this demonstration research project are: (a) to develop leadership; (b) to encourage studies of community, county, and area problems; and (c) to foster cooperation among citizens in solving problems of community life relating to health, education, agriculture, trade, industry, religious life, recreation, and home and family living. The major achievement in the project to date is the unusual area cooperative planning that has emerged.

One unsolved problem in education is the loss of local control over schools that characterizes the 30 percent of our population who live in large cities. How can people in the large cities have anything to say about educational policy and program? During the last three years citizens in the Bronx Park Community of New York City, as reported by Polley (47), have participated in a communitywide experiment aimed at restoring a greater degree of local initiative to the people.

In an investigation of lay committees working with boards of education and professional staffs, Hull (23) found that (a) lay educational advisory committees in the United States are mostly of recent origin, consisting of less than 40 members who are elected from representative groups in the community, and including 80-100 percent lay membership; (b) superintendents, boards of education, and the citizens in the communities where advisory committees are used like them and support their use; (c) there is a growing interest in such lay organizations and they may soon become standard practice in school administration; (d) lay educational advisory committees have proved valuable as a public-relations technic in public-school administration; (e) the objectives for which these organizations seem to be striving are to secure lay participation without controlling the participants and to effect a democratic two-way communication function for educational thinking and planning.

A series of guides for community participation in educational planning was brought out by the New York State Department of Education (43, 44, 45). These suggested an approach to increased community participation, interest and responsibility in educational planning and described some specific procedures that have helped achieve this objective.



The Association for Supervision and Curriculum Development (4) reported five planning and action activities illustrating desirable characteristics of the process of lay-professional study, planning, and action in providing better instructional programs. Mackenzie (27) described a plan for community cooperation in curriculum planning. The citizens of Garden City, New York (18), made a comprehensive study of their school curriculum.

Most programs of lay participation are concerned with involving individual citizens in the community. Schools can and should move beyond this point, as Irvine and Ogden (24) stated, to serve as a coordinating agency for harnessing the power of community groups. Vincent, Kopp, and McCleary (54) in a study of the interaction between school and local community groups reported that (a) the greatest "consistency of helpfulness among all groups" was found in the larger districts; (b) almost three to one, initiative came from community groups, not from the school; (c) school-community group contact was mutually beneficial; (d) "service" clubs are by far the most helpful of all groups; (e) relatively little helpful contact was found between the schools and the business and industrial groups; (f) school systems lacked proper contacts with the powerful groups in the community.

*Higher Education* (21) showed that leadership for changes in educational programs receives strong impetus from existing agencies in the community. The results of Gallagher's study (17) showed that better schools were found in the communities where the schools had extensive contacts with the groups in and around the community. It was recommended in this study that every staff member who can do it should be guided into at least one connection per year with a community group; those who can manage several connections per year should be encouraged.

The technics described by the Metropolitan School Study Council (32) and by Begg (5) are reported here, altho mentioned in previous issues, because of their widespread use thruout the country by superintendents interested in getting a program of community participation in educational planning under way.

*Administration for Adaptability* (31) brings together a score of studies in this field developed over the last 15 years by Mort and the Metropolitan School Study Council. The teacher's role in working more effectively with laymen in educational planning is reported in the National School Public Relations Association handbook (41). Yeager (58), Whitelaw (56), the American Association of School Administrators (1), the California Association of School Administrators (8), and Cook (10) have each presented a more extensive treatment of this area which will help educators to build a better design for their local programs.

### **Formal Mechanisms of Control and Change**

Significant outgrowths of the increased interest and participation by citizens in their communities and schools have been some fundamental

trends in the control and change functions. In *Administration for Adaptability* (31) a series of studies related to the mechanisms of control are reviewed and their effect on the adaptability principle in administration discussed.

Mort (35) stated that there is some indication that voter-controlled budgets and board-controlled budgets came out of the depression with some advantages over budgets controlled by representative bodies other than the board of education, but there was no apparent difference between voter control and board control. In adjusting expenditure to the rising costs in the period between 1940 and 1947, however, voter-controlled budgets appear to have an advantage over the other two types. The implication of this study is that all signs favor the voter-controlled budget.

*Fiscal Policy for Public Education in the State of New York* (42), Burke (7), Woollatt (57), Strevell and Walling (53), and McLaughlin (28) described the pattern of changes in local control in New York State from the beginning to the present time. Davies and Hosler (12) and the American Association of School Administrators and National School Boards Association (2) pointed out that boards of education are more fully assuming the responsibility for charting the course of American education. Board members are also finding ways of keeping the schools closer to the people. Mulford (36) stated that schoolboards are in a period of transition in which they are beginning to assume their full responsibility. The trends noted in control and change of schools are found in other institutions as reported by Selznick (51).

Cornell (3) indicated that the school survey properly organized and implemented is a possible device for control and change. Fundamental changes in the job of the superintendent of schools have been noted for some time. Rice (48) reported that the Cooperative Project in Educational Administration has begun a long-range study of the superintendent's job.

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## CHAPTER V

### The School as a Social System

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THIS chapter represents a departure from chapters in earlier numbers of the REVIEW cycle on "The Social Framework of Education." The departure reflects a trend in social research toward drawing upon an emerging theory of organization. Industrial sociologists particularly have used organization theory in their investigations, but other social scientists have also recognized the implications of this approach to the study of the school.

Brookover (10) in his proposed outline of a sociology of education included two possible areas of study which are related to organization theory: human relations within the school, and the impact of the school system on the behavior and personalities of persons participating in it. Two other sociologists have called for study of the school from the general viewpoint of a sociological analysis of institutions: Waller's (66) early work remains a fruitful source of sensitive hypotheses which may be put to empirical test; and Znaniecki (69) recently suggested using the sociological concepts of social role and group membership as guides to research on educational systems. Up to the present, however, no writer has set forth a comprehensive outline of the theory of organization as it applies to the study of the school.

The outline of our chapter follows from elements of Barnard's (4) organization theory, which considers a formal organization as a cooperative system in which a number of persons work together to achieve an end. An effective means of achieving an end is dividing the work involved so that distinct and specialized functions are distributed among the personnel of the organization, but this division of labor is operative only so far as the personnel fulfil the roles to which they are assigned. One of the specialized functions, or roles, is that of coordinating the other specialized functions, and the extent to which this leadership is effective depends upon the extent to which it is accepted by the persons whose functions are coordinated.

Coordination and administration require a system of communication within the organization—communication of executive decisions to the affected personnel, and transmission from personnel to executive of information which may affect executive decisions.

The interaction of a number of persons pursuing an institutional end gives rise to informal groupings among those persons, which in turn may serve important functions for the larger formal organization, or may reshape the formal organization from which they derive—perhaps even work at cross purpose to its end.

We find that research on the school as a social institution is scanty;

educational research has been directed primarily toward describing practices and technics of school personnel rather than inquiring into the entire system of interrelationships among them and the social consequences of these relationships. As a result, many of the researches which we shall discuss were conducted outside of education. Our selection of these researches was made on the basis of their implications, both substantive and methodological, for the investigation of the social structure of the school.

### Role

The concept of role has become an analytical tool of central importance in many contemporary sociological and social psychological systems. Its importance derives from the fact that an individual's behavior is strongly influenced by the expectations which members of various important groups have of him and his relationships with them. In the context of organization theory, role has added significance because certain of these expectations become institutionalized, and an individual is penalized by the organization if his behavior deviates from that which is expected from him. (In the technical sense, role does not refer simply to the functions performed by the various office holders, such as teachers, school board members, and administrative personnel, but rather to *expectations* concerning the functions they will perform and their manner of performing them.) It appears to us that the technical concept of role has not been used extensively in educational research to the present time; Reusser and Bemis (47) reviewed the research literature on administrative officers but cited only one project that had a bearing on this area, a study by Wood (68) of the relationships with the superintendent which principals "desired."

In one other valuable study, Jenkins and Lippitt (32) analyzed the accuracy with which teachers, parents, and pupils perceived the type of interaction preferred by each other in order to discover problem areas in interpersonal relations.

Use of the concept enables the researcher to discern several areas of investigation which are of concern to the social system of the school.

### Role Conflict

Conflicts between pupils' expectations of their teacher and the institutionalized expectations of the teacher were analyzed in Waller's early work (66), but few research studies in this area have been reported within the past three years. Studies of conflicting expectations of teachers between the school institution and the community were more numerous, but these are outside the scope of the present chapter. Conflicts associated with the principalship were highlighted thru sociodrama by Flowerman (23).

Stouffer (62, 63) reported laboratory investigations of a more generalized problem: the resolution of conflict between institutional obligations and informal group obligations. He used Lazarsfeld's latent structure

method of scaling questionnaire responses for classifying persons according to their predisposition to select one or the other horn of the role conflict dilemma.

### **Relations Between Personnel**

Relations between school personnel—such as teacher-teacher or teacher-pupil relations, superintendent-board or superintendent-principal relations—may be studied from the standpoint of role expectations. Gage and Suci (25) reported the first of a series of basic researches which explore the hypothesis that effective interpersonal relations is a function of the accuracy with which interactors perceive one another. In the same vein, Bonney (9) studied teachers' estimates of the number of sociometric choices their students would receive from one another, giving special attention to types of children underrated and overrated by the teachers. He found, for example, that children who established intimate relations in a small circle of friends but did not respond well in a group situation were underrated by their teacher, while children who were inhibited in their relations with peers but established good relations with adults were overrated.

### **Measurement of Role**

Two observational technics for identifying roles of members of small, informal groups have appeared in the literature (6, 30). In addition, Cronbach (16) suggested adapting Stephenson's "Q-technique" to the measurement of role, and Henry (28) used projective methods to discover common psychodynamic patterns among junior business executives.

### **Leadership and Authority Relations**

Educational researchers have shown much interest in the problem of leadership—relations between persons at different levels of authority—and their studies have been summarized regularly in various issues of the REVIEW. Leadership studies almost invariably are concerned with leadership processes in relatively unorganized and informal groups in which group members are free to establish their own patterns of interrelationships. Few studies have taken into account the special case of leadership and authority in organized, formal social systems in which the leader is impersonally appointed and the interrelations among personnel are highly institutionalized (and, with respect to some aspects of relations, are a matter of law).

Notable exceptions are the investigations of the Ohio State University Leadership Studies staff. For their purposes, a study of leadership is the study of organization. In investigations of formal organizations, the staff examines the responsibilities, authority, delegation of authority, work pattern, and interpersonal contacts on the job for all levels of personnel. "Leaders" in the organization are persons who exert relatively greater influence upon goal setting and goal achievement activities of other

members. This definition of the leader enables the researcher to identify a hierarchy of leaders, each exercising increasingly greater influence over organization activities and each (except for the top executive) deferring to the authority of the leader above him. A conceptual model of this sort, it seems to us, is more adequate for the study of leadership in the school than models derived from investigations of small groups which have essentially no larger organizational context.

Publications of the Ohio State University Leadership Studies staff were numerous and covered diverse material, but a general summary of the research project is available in papers by Shartle (53) and Stogdill (59). Morris and Seeman (40) outlined the analytical and methodological approach of the project, while Stogdill (58) discussed the conceptual components of leadership and organization which provide the theoretical basis for the studies. Stogdill and Shartle (61) described operational measures of the variables with which they were concerned. In another article, Stogdill (60) illustrated their approach by an analysis of the organization of two naval units. Seeman (51) explored the hypothesis that leadership behavior within an organization is related to the leader's status and status ideology with respect to the larger society, using for subjects superintendents of schools in Ohio.

A few other social scientists have given their attention to empirical studies of formal positions of leadership and authority in recent years. Carter (11), for example, conducted a laboratory experiment in which he compared the "excellence of performance" of persons in appointed leadership positions of small groups with their leadership performance in leaderless group situations.

From the point of view of organization theory, the subordinates' acceptance of leadership and authority relations is crucial for effective cooperation among an organization's personnel. Sanford's leadership studies (49), conducted from the point of view that an important determinant of leadership exists in the needs of the followers who accord a person leadership status, contributed substantively to this area.

### Communication

Several studies of communication within hierarchically structured groups have been reported in the sociological and social psychological literature within the past three years. Gardner's discussion (26) of communication processes and channels within the social system of the factory, altho referring only to anecdotal evidence, suggested numerous problems which might well be the subject of empirical investigation in the school's social structure.

### Laboratory Studies

Research workers frequently took their studies of communication processes into the experimental laboratory. Two investigators (27)

studied the efficiency of problem-solving in three-member groups under various conditions of communication such as two-way, one-way, or no communication between pairs of members in various combinations of the three possible pairs in a group. Efficiency was greatest where communication was unrestricted and least under conditions of one-way communication among all pairs. Thibaut (65) found that as a status of certain group members was increased experimentally, the amount of communication addressed to them by low status members increased but the proportion of aggressively toned remarks decreased. In a similar study, Kelley (34) showed that the increase in communication directed toward high status persons was manifested most strikingly by those low status persons who desired to move upward to the more favored position. He interpreted his results as confirming Thibaut's hypothesis that communication serves as a substitute for real upward mobility among persons with little possibility for advancement in status.

### Field Studies

Festinger (22) employed the technic of tracing the transmission of planted rumors thru a social structure in order to highlight the communication channels. Another investigation (44) focused on a type of nonverbal communication—"behavioral contagion"—by means of careful observations of children in summer camps. The research staff published a valuable discussion of problems relating to field studies of interpersonal relations (46).

Festinger, in two articles (19, 20), developed systematic interpretations of research findings from studies of communication processes in organizations and small groups.

### Mobility of Personnel

Several studies pointed to the special problem of the mobility of personnel within and between organizations. Two dissertations (5, 67) suggested that occupational mobility of teachers within the Chicago school system can be explained in terms of movement toward a more favorable ecological or social position within the teaching occupation, a horizontal movement that contrasts with the vertical movement toward organizational positions of greater responsibility commonly observed in other types of occupations.

### Informal Groups

As in the case of studies of leadership, studies of small groups most frequently were concerned with independent, autonomous groups rather than those groups which are elementary units of or which exist by virtue of formal organizations. The most significant contribution in recent years to an integration of theories of small groups and theories of formal organizations was Homans' *The Human Group* (31), in which he proposed a conceptual system integrally relating groups to their social environment.



Little research in either education or the social sciences has yet carried this approach beyond the point at which Homans left it, and a comprehensive compilation of the fragmentary research literature of the last quarter-century from the point of view of Homans's theoretical system remains to be done. This, however, is beyond the scope of our chapter.

In the remainder of this section we review developments in methods of investigating social groups, a topic accorded considerable attention in recent literature.

### **Sociometry**

Moreno's sociometric technic remains the most popular method of investigating group structure. A number of suggestions have appeared for meeting one of its major drawbacks—the difficulty of handling data from large groups of subjects. Researchers have proposed the use of matrix algebra (7, 21, 32, 36), factor analysis (8), and machine tabulation equipment (33) to reduce difficulties in analysis.

\* Seeley (50) described a matrix algebra solution to the problem involved in measuring a subject's popularity by the number of choices he receives from other subjects with varying degrees of popularity—a problem entailing an infinite regress. Chapin (12) proposed that sociograms be constructed on a three-dimensional model rather than the traditional flat surface model in order to dispel the popular conception of the sociometric star as a fortunate individual in the midst of a circle of admiring friends. After reanalysis of Lundberg's data, he concluded that the star in fact is an isolate, in the sense that he makes few friendship choices and those he makes are infrequently reciprocated.

A number of authors considered statistical problems of validity and reliability (14, 43), tests of significance (13, 15, 18, 38), and construction of scores (14, 15, 37) in sociometric analysis. Foa (24) applied Guttman's scale and intensity analysis to sociometric data.

Polansky and others (45) discussed general problems associated with the sociometric method, such as the significance to a child of making choices, the multidimensionality of the concept of status, and the use of modified sociometric technics. Loomis and Pepinsky (36) provided a comprehensive summary of developments in sociometry up to 1948.

### **Interaction Analysis**

No less significant than the methodological contributions in sociometry were the contributions to methods of studying the interaction of group members. Bales (2) published a manual on interaction analysis in which he based the process of group observation on social psychological theory and his system of observational categories on sociological theory. He also published (3) specifications for an interaction recorder, apparatus which enhances sequential recording of the acts of group members. Steinzor (56, 57) and Ruesch and Prestwood (48) reported sets of categories for codifying interaction, while the extensive methodological and

substantive research on conference procedures was summarized briefly by Marquis and others (39). Thelen (64) provided a comprehensive discussion of interaction research methodology, including a section on technics for collecting data.

### **Theories of Organization**

Social scientists have been unusually active in recent years in their attempts to develop theories of organization applicable to such a social unit as a school system in its community environment. In contrast to much earlier theorizing in social science, the emerging theories of organization emanate from research findings and are designed explicitly to feed back into research. The sources from which they have arisen are varied, and at this writing they remain discrete and relatively unintegrated. Thus, we shall only mention their various locations and give one or two prominent references.

#### *Social institutions:*

Parsons (42) for a conceptual framework;

Odum (41) for a historical sketch of developments in the field.

#### *Industrial sociology:*

Arensberg (1) for a summary of theoretical and research approaches to the field.

#### *Administration theory:*

Barnard (4) and Simon (55) for general theories of organization;

De Grazia (17) for an annotated bibliography in public administration.

#### *Primary groups:*

Shils (54) for a comprehensive summary of theory and research on the primary group;

Homans (31) for a conceptual analysis of the small group.

#### *General organization theory:*

Selznick (52) for foundations of the theory of organization;

Hertz and Livingston (29) for a detailed summary of organization theory with an emphasis on the quantitative and mathematical approaches.

Despite the variety of ways in which social scientists systematically examine organizations, there are some important similarities in approach. It is generally agreed that an organization must be studied as a unit, that the essence of organization is lost if its component parts are studied in isolation. Further, most theorists agree that the structure of an organization is found not in the work performed but in the stable patterns of interrelations among the working personnel. Two organizations may pursue strikingly different ends with highly similar patterns of interrelations

among their personnel. For this reason, social scientists are inclined to believe in the possibility of *general* theories of organization which cut across specific types or organizations. If this is true, educational researchers who conduct empirical investigations of school systems from this point of view not only will benefit in the understanding of the social system of the school provided by the foundation science but, in addition, will feed back systematic knowledge into the general theory from which they drew. Developments in the field of organization theory and research appear to us to have reached the point at which educational researchers can profitably capitalize on them for guidance in conducting studies of the social system of the school.

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## CHAPTER VI

### The Family, Education, and Child Adjustment

LESTER A. KIRKENDALL and BEN ARD

#### General Trends

FAMILY research is increasingly concerned with intensive analysis of the many factors which form the patterns of family interrelationships. According to Warner (65), "Explanations of behavior are no longer sought in terms of single variables." Case studies and interviews are being used increasingly, as are projective technics, for example, Rorschach tests, free expression with creative media. A corollary trend is toward interdisciplinary research conducted by teams with members from the different specialties (2, 28, 46).

A number of studies have been concerned with the male's role in family life (20, 27, 63) and sex roles in general (37, 43). Concern for preserving the family has produced studies centering on the pre- and post-marital periods. Studies in predicting marital adjustments have continued (41). There is research on the effectiveness of marriage counseling (46). Families broken by divorce or war have been studied. World turmoil and insecurity, particularly the threat of war, economic insecurity, and migration may be expected to interest family researchers even more in the future.

Widespread interest in family problems has resulted in the presentation of technical reports in a popular form. A noteworthy example is the report of Goode's (29) study of divorced women in the *Saturday Evening Post* (67). This interest has also resulted in the National Conference on Family Life (64), and the Midcentury White House Conference on Children and Youth (45).

#### Bibliographies and General Compendiums

Two authors have summarized and interpreted research results. Bossard (7) has presented a sociological understanding of the child. Children and families were studied in their social setting. Symonds (61) presented the psychological point of view and examined such aspects of parent-child relationships as over-protection, domination, insecurity, hostility, rejection, and aggression, and their relationship to child adjustment.

The U. S. Children's Bureau (23, 24, 25, 26) lists studies, currently in progress, concerned with physical, mental, social, and emotional problems of children. This information is available to research workers reporting studies. Articles (12, 14, 33, 47, 50) have appeared on research technics and needs.

#### Measuring the Family Environment

Shoben (58) developed a Parent Attitude Scale which assumes that parents take sufficiently consistent attitudes toward children to permit

measurement, and that those attitudes affect child adjustment. He suggests research problems to which the scale might be applied. Bach (3), Radke (53), and Sears and others (56), used projective technics in studying young children.

Boulding (10) studied the effects of war-time crises on families. She concluded that an event, however cataclysmic, does not necessarily produce a family crisis. Three variables determine whether a given event produces a family crisis: (a) the hardship of the event, (b) the resources of the family to meet the event, and (c) the family's definition of what constitutes a crisis. Hill (32) believes that "crisis-proneness" in families will soon be diagnostically identifiable.

Schaffner (55) made special use of "incomplete sentences," Rorschachs, and observations in revealing the importance of German family life in developing the authoritarian character structure which led the German people to accept the Nazi regime. Koos (38) used the interview situation as a cathartic device to secure information about deep-seated concerns and underlying frustrations which could not have been secured otherwise. He also developed a graphic profile to show the process of family disintegration and reintegration. Bossard and Boll (8, 9) used published autobiographies to study the influence of guests on family life and family rituals.

Lewis (40) has utilized intensive case studies of single families with which the investigator lived for a prolonged period. Barker and Wright (5) utilized a similar approach in a study of one child's behavior for a single day in his cultural and psychological setting. Duvall (19) developed two categories, developmental and traditional, to classify the concepts held by parents toward child-rearing practices.

### **Parent-Family Attitudes and Adjustment in Relation to Child Development**

Wood (68) studied 50 pairs of parents whose children had articulatory speech defects. Such defects were definitely and significantly associated with maladjustment and undesirable traits on the part of the parents, and were usually maternally centered. Gough, Harris, and Martin (30), and Adorno and others (2) demonstrated that there is a close correlation between the quality of home discipline and overt prejudice. In the latter study prejudiced subjects tended to report a relatively harsh and more threatening type of home discipline. Parental goals in child-rearing tended to be highly conventional. Families of prejudiced subjects tended to base interrelationships on rather clearly defined roles of dominance and submission contradistinction to equalitarian policies.

Langdon and Stout (39) reported that parents of well-adjusted children attributed this good adjustment to attitudes of love and affection, appreciation, and trust. The well-adjusted child was wanted, accepted, and respected as an individual. Hellersburg (31) found that good food habits in adolescents are related to desirable personal adjustments. Cohen and

Kapnek (13) found a relationship between the frequency of family assembly at meals and an upward trend in the scores of the children on personality tests.

Ingersoll (35), in studying the transmission of familial authority patterns, found that men and women tended to project the authority patterns they had experienced in their childhood families into their own marriage and family relationships. Brown, Morrison, and Couch (11) reported a substantial correlation between affectional family relationships and character reputation; Radke (53), between democracy in the home and child behavior. Baldwin (4) reported certain effects of democracy in the home upon the personality development of young children. Lack of democracy produced a quiet, well-behaved, nonresistant child who is socially unaggressive; and restricted in his curiosity, originality, and fancifulness. Freedom and permissiveness permit the child to become active, outgoing, and spontaneous.

Ellis (21) found significant relationships between the early family experiences of girls and their later love behavior histories. Davis (15) and Davis and Havighurst (16) studied differences in child-training practices of families in different social and cultural strata. Cultural differences were reflected in the personality formation of middle-class compared with lower-class people due to early training. Ericson (22) found lower-class parents were more permissive; middle-class children were made anxious by social pressure and suffered more frustration in learning. Nye (48) found adolescent-parent adjustments were generally better in high than in low socio-economic families. Hollingshead (34) and Warner (65) conducted studies on class differences.

Phillips (51) found that, if parents displayed disturbed behavior, this increased the likelihood that their child would be involved in problem behavior in the same areas and in the same ways as his parents. Meyer (44) found that a child will be more likely to show dominative behavior in his own social group if he experiences friction at home over disciplinary policies, many restrictions on his behavior, general home discord, and many coercive suggestions from his parents. McKeown (42) studied the parents of selected groups of schizophrenics, behavior problems, and normals. The parent of the same sex as the schizophrenic and both parents of problem children, showed heavy incidences of demanding, antagonistic behavior. Among the parents of the normals, accepting and permissive behavior predominated.

Remmers and Shimberg (54) found from 10 to 20 percent of 15,000 high-school youth indicated a lack of mutual confidence between themselves and their parents. Friction points were parental supervision, allowances, use of the family car, bickering among brothers and sisters.

Williams (66) found the number of personal problems of youth increased thruout the high-school period. Sexual problems were mainly psychological and social, and related in varying degrees to the amount and type of sex education they had received. All problems of youth seemed

related to their attitudes toward, and the quality of, their home relationships. Staton (60) studied the attitudes of a group of Oregon high-school seniors toward home and community problems.

### **The Family and Intellectual Aspects of Children**

Blake (6) found childhood socio-economic levels related to the scholastic aptitude and intelligence test performances of adult subjects. The amount of parental education and the kind of employment of the father were related to performance on various intellectual tasks in adulthood. Skodak (59) found adopted children, unrelated to each other, but reared as siblings, as similar in intelligence at comparable ages as natural siblings. Terman and Oden (62), in a follow-up study of gifted children, stated that the majority came from homes where the intellectual environment was stimulating rather than depressing. The marital adjustment of the gifted appears "equal or superior to that found in groups less highly selected for intelligence."

Del Solar (17) concluded that the concept of the school working with the whole child needed redefinition and refinement. A practical and carefully defined statement of the overlapping, distinctive, and unique roles of home and school is needed if the two are to work together effectively.

Kirkendall (36) reported on the sources of sex education of 352 men. Nearly 70 percent of all references mentioned were to the home; the father was the chief informant. Sheeley, Landis, and Davis (57) compared contemporary college women with their mothers. Three-fourths of the daughters had received their first sex education from their mothers as compared with less than half of their mothers.

### **The Family and Delinquency**

Formerly research on delinquency was preoccupied with such physical and economic factors as housing and accessibility of recreation. This framework has proved to be too broadly conceived. Interpersonal and family relationships are now regarded as more useful in understanding the dynamics of individual delinquency.

Abrahamsen (1) reported that the sexual impulses of 102 sex offenders at Sing Sing were developed irregularly because of early destructive influences in childhood and adolescence, especially with regard to parents, brothers, and sisters.

Glueck and Glueck (28) compared 500 delinquent boys in Boston with 500 control boys to isolate factors which would differentiate delinquents and nondelinquents. Certain factors, chiefly interpersonal relationships within the family group, were found to be operative in the preschool period. Differentiating factors were classified as (a) social, for example, discipline, supervision, affection in the home; (b) character traits, for example, defiance, suspicion, destructiveness, emotional lability; (c) personality traits, for example, adventurous, extroverted in action, suggestible, stubborn, emotionally unstable. A delinquency prediction table

was then constructed. A study by Powers and Witmer (52) provides corroborative evidence.

Koos (38) did an extended and intensive study of 62 low-income families in New York City. Well integrated families suffered less and recovered more quickly from trouble than individualized families with dispersed interests. He concluded family service agencies needed to re-evaluate and reinterpret their services, and to accept people at their level of need.

### Effects of Military Mobilization on Family Life

Bach (3) compared father fantasies of 20 father-absent children with those of 20 father-present children. The former produced a more idealistic and feminized fantasy father-picture than the latter. Sears and others (56) analyzed aggressive behavior in 126 children. Boys from father-absent homes were less likely to fantasy aggression than boys from father-present homes.

Hill (32) studied the adjustments of 135 Iowa families to the crises of war separation and reunion. A well-integrated, democratic family organization, adaptability, and affectional relationships of about equal intensity for all were positively related to good adjustment. That spouses be able to remain in contact thru writing was important.

Odlum (49) and Young (69) studied the effects of war on children and Derrick (18) the effects of evacuation on Japanese-American adolescents.

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